42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

593 The family is a very important entity among the Isneg, and their family life is comparatively intense. There is no question of man and wife associating only for the duties incident to the procreation of children. All members of the household keep rather close together until the young people are able to form a new family, and even in this case the latter usually remain with their elders for a considerable period of their married life. To establish a family, if possible with plenty of children around, is the ultimate goal of every Isneg boy and [671] girl. In principle the rights of the individual are subordinate to those of the family, while state paternalism cannot be thought of.

177 It is true that actually the Government often interferes with the native customs of the Isneg, and in many cases it could not very well 593 do otherwise, but the latter consider it as alien and regard its ways as entirely contrary to their traditions; they would most certainly like to get rid of it at the first opportunity. The Isneg submit of course, as the constabulary is supposed to be mostly wide awake, but they generally do so very reluctantly and often under protest; occasionally they even disobey, and sometimes not without reason, especially in cases of interference with their traditional family life.

177 Just to give a couple of examples. The local authorities force the parents to send their children to school; anybody who disregards this 871 rule is punished by being obliged to furnish free labor to the Gov- 582 ernment. Now the wisdom of this regulation cannot always reason- 593 ably be doubted, because, if no strict measures were taken, nobody would go to school. But even children of marriageable age very often fall under this rule, as Apayaw is sparsely populated and the officials are anxious to present decent reports to their superiors; and so Isneg parents who allow their children to marry, face a very disagreeable dilemma: they have either to continue to send to school, in this way breaking up the home as they understand it, or to disobey and be liable to be taken into custody by policemen. It should be noted here that the law of the land recognizes such marriages as valid, but local officials sometimes have little regard for them. By this [797] time, however, the Isneg have found a way out, namely by becoming Christians and contracting marriage before the priest. Such marriages are always duly recorded of course, and so the young people escape forced attendance at school, and the parents avoid trouble with the Government. After all it is the Church that helps the Isneg to keep to his original traditions about the essentials of marriage and home life.

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

Namaltugan); but this is certainly not an Isneg custom, and it would not even be true to say that polyandry is sporadic among the natives, as the above example is probably unique in Apayaw.

No Isneg is precluded from contracting marriage or regarded as incapable of the same, and so also there are no marriages that could be said to be enjoined by law or by custom to certain classes of people. The only marriage impediments that exist among the Isneg, besides lineal consanguinity, are collateral consanguinity in the first and in the second degree, and so marriage is forbidden between brothers and sisters, and between first cousins. Marriages between second cousins, although not prohibited, are comparatively rare; they seem to be shunned by the Isneg.

2. Courtship

And now we come to the description of how Isneg boys and girls enter the state of matrimony.

Whereas among the Kankanay and other tribes of the Mountain Province, the groom goes to work for a certain period of time in the house of the bride's parents, in Apayaw the Isneg boy merely buys his wife from her parents.

But first of all, who makes the choice? Are the children free and left to their own devices, or do the parents arrange the whole affair among themselves? Have the children anything to say in the matter, or have they merely to agree to their parents' wishes?

Infant marriages exist in Apayaw, but they are the exception. In such cases the parents arrange everything and perform all customary ceremonies that precede the actual marriage, while the bride and groom are still too young to know anything about the matter, and perhaps before they have ever seen each other. These marriages are never consummated and the final marriage ceremony never takes place before the regular age, which means usually not before the age of sixteen years for the boy and fourteen for the girl. But such marriages are as easily broken off as they are contracted; indeed, either of the two parties or both may have conscientious objections, because they have somebody else in sight or for some other reason, in which case the transactions never go any further. Whatever has been paid to the parents of the bride is returned to the original owners, and everything goes on as if nothing had happened. I know of one such case of infant marriage, or rather of agreement between the parents while bride and groom were still in their infancy: it was related to

727 ally the houses are burnt. The attacking warriors withdraw after a time and start for home with what heads they have secured.

If the warriors have secured some heads, they start shouting in triumph while still some distance from home. The women answer and come out to meet them. There is much victorious clamour. Each successful warrior hacks his heads in pieces and either places them on bamboos in front of his house, or else hangs them in the convenient large tree sacred to his especial *anito*. They are decorated with flowers. Then the people hold a feast, called *boda*, at which they eat and drink; but do not dance. The main event is the [537] triumphal shouting of the warriors. Each relates in a chant the mighty deeds which he has done.

MARRIAGE

● 582 A youth is free to select and woo the girl of his 584 choice—with his nose flute, *baling*, or a kind of jews- [534] harp, *oribao*, or by other means common to youth the [836] world over. If she is agreeable, the courtship becomes serious and they enter into an arrangement, *aluloy*, whereby the sleep together for a period of from three months to a year. They are in earnest in this affair, for they know that, if it does not result in marriage, they must pay a heavy fine. Their object is pregnancy.

583 When the youth decides to have the marriage, he 584 requests his parents to deliver several baskets of rice cakes to the house of the girl. All the relatives of both parties are notified and assemble in the house to arrange for the wedding. They have a feast: rice.

000 ing wife might vanish; but before the break of day, he discovered that his much beloved wife had gone out of sight. Since then she has never been located; even by the bird Bulaoitan, which was instructed to go to every nook and corner of the surrounding country. But that loss never weakened the morale of the six Pindayan warrior brothers.

Still, in spite of mishaps, they held firm their stand against all aggressive enemies with the aid of the great bees which roofed their house, the only house in Pindayan.

THE COURTSHIP OF HINADOLAN.

582 Hatan told Hinadolan to marry Himbangonan, who lived in Dudongan, and stay in her house. Indayo, the father of Himbangonan, told her that they could not be married unless Hinadolan presented him with the head of a freeman.

726 Hinadolan, accompanied by his brother Abbiwan, went to hunt the head. They started for Dombilan. When the people of Dombilan saw the two brothers coming, they knew at once that they were coming to fight. So the people sought shelter within their great, high iron stockade. But Hinadolan, using his magical powers, jumped high into the air over the stockade and landed in front of the enemy so that the fight began at once. Hinadolan killed many of the enemies
000 and started back with one head in his hands. Again he attempted to jump over the iron stockade; but he caught on top of it. He bawled and bawled and struggled to get away; but he could ont. So he told his

628 ed a jar of *basi* and invited all the people to drink with the brothers. When they were gathered, he asked them all to come into the house. After they were all in, he fastened them in. Then he offered a cup of *basi* to the *maingel*. Instead of letting him take it, Ewagan dashed the *basi* on the head of the *maingel* and killed him. Then the brothers killed all the people and flew with their blood to the river. All the possessions of those people wer collected; and Ewagan, by his magic powers, flew them to Pindayan, his home.

582 Then the brothers went to the house of Himbanganan in Dudongan, bringing her all the heads of the people of Dombilan. Himbanganan was afraid in the presence of all the brothers, and promptly agreed to marry Hinadolan without the necessity of a dowry. She followed the brothers to Pindayan, where she and Hinadolan were married and lived thereafter.

THE ORPHANS

789 Long ago there lived three orphans; two boys and a girl. These orphans were the sons and daughter of a rich family. These brothers and the sister were expert magicians. They did not suffer any hardships. When they became hungry, they just prayed to an *anito* for their needs and their wants would all be [577] provided for. They were very religious. They were humane and helpful to those who were in need.

789 One day they wanted to have a feast. So they 574 invited all their relatives, their friends, and all their neighbors. They only prepared one chupa of rice, one